

PEACE NEWS

For War Resistance and World-Community

No. 666

April 1, 1949

THREEPENCE

Millions on arms provide no security

ARMS BILL IN INDIA

OF budgeted expenditure in the financial year which has just ended in India, defence items absorbed as much as 47 per cent.

It is a curious irony that the state which Mr. Gandhi built, the country which is the hope and inspiration of twentieth-century pacifism, should thus spend a greater proportion of its revenue on rearmament than almost any other country in the world. Is there an explanation? The most cogent reason is perhaps the one that is revealed by the

COMMENTARY

By MAURICE CRANSTON

budget of Pakistan. For there the proportion of national expenditure on defence is even higher than in India—it is as much as 55 per cent.

In India, if not in the neighbouring Dominion, there are voices which protest at this huge expense of the national wealth on preparations for war. For example, the Eastern Economist for March 4 writes:

"Does it profit us much to feel secure behind an expensive fighting force, when the economic base on which it, like everything else, rests, is being slowly undermined... (The Budget) purports to assert that our defence requirements make it necessary that India's standard of life must be imperilled, because of dangers of attack from without. What are those dangers?"

Where fear lies

THE Indian writer goes on to consider the several possibilities. Such is the present conflict of ideologies that neither the USA nor the USSR could attack India without being attacked by the other.

"Nor, indeed," the Eastern Economist continues, "is there an early prospect of possible aggression by any lesser power... And yet fear lies both in India and Pakistan. And it is a fear which comes only from ourselves. It should be apparent, with Kashmir moving out of the picture, that relations between India and Pakistan must improve."

How is this to be done? "We think it possible," the writer declares, "for India and Pakistan both to reduce their military expenditure by considerable figures. It would be a gesture by each to the other that it was not contemplating aggression. But it would be a recognition by both even more of the paramount need of devoting their re-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

"WE SHOULD SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS ANOTHER WAY"

—Emrys Hughes, MP

"THE hundreds of millions of pounds spent on the armed forces provide no security for the people of this country," Emrys Hughes declared in the House of Commons when the Government asked the House to approve a sum of £207,500,000 for the Air Estimates for 1949-50.

Emrys Hughes opened his speech by declaring that he had listened with a great deal of sympathy to previous discussions on cruelty to animals and pain in childbirth, he was at a loss to understand the absence of any voice of protest when the House was discussing spending £2 million on what to him symbolised infinite cruelty to human beings. He continued saying:

"I wish to deal with some of the recruiting propaganda for the RAF. I have here a booklet, 'So we are going to the RAF,' and we are told this booklet of typical working day in the life of an airman. We are told that three-quarters of an hour in the morning is to be devoted to bayonet practice."

"Later, adding to this booklet, after the bayonet fighting, there is an educational paragraph for one hour. Then there is the morning break, and then a padre's hour. In the padre's hour, presumably, the airman will be explained to them the religious significance of bayonet fighting."

"I do not understand what relevance modern religion has either to bayonet fighting or the bombing of a civilian population."

"In this booklet there is actually a picture of an airman in a RAF chapel overseas, and in the last sentence we are told that the Royal Air Force attaches great importance to the religious welfare of its members."

"What a bug! Surely the purpose of the RAF as has

been explained by one Member after another in this Debate, is to bomb the enemy."

"We have heard of the Berlin air lift. Suppose, as we have been told in this Debate, that the Russians move forward into Western Europe, that there is fighting on the Rhine, and that Berlin suddenly becomes the headquarters of the Russian general staff; are we going to refrain from bombing Berlin?"

"We hear a great deal about the Berlin air lift being for purely humanitarian motives. There are no humanitarian motives in modern war."

"The business of these airmen will be to drop their most powerful bombs, or atomic bombs, on the civil population, because that is ultimately what war means."

"There have been some curious statements made in the recruiting campaigns which have been carried on under auspices of the right hon. and learned Gentleman."

THE AGGRESSOR

"I have a report here of a recruiting meeting on Feb. 21, 1949, at the New Victoria Cinema, Edinburgh, which was addressed by Air-Commodore the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon. He said that the shadow of war is hanging on the horizon and that it is no exaggeration to say that there is great danger that this country may be drawn into war. He went on to say that the RAF had played a very vital part in the last war, and would be even more essential because the Air Force was the only means by which we should be able effectively to strike the aggressor country. It is always assumed that in this war of which we are thinking the Russians will be the aggressors. The Duke of Hamilton went on to explain his idea of the aggressive war, and added:

"One of the greatest admirals in our country has said: 'Hit first, hit hard, and keep on hitting.'"

"Well, if we are to hit first, surely we shall be the aggressors. The trouble is that in the Russian Press, Russian airmen and experts talk in the same way. Both

PAX NOT PACTS

Trafalgar Square Rally will hear PPU protest

THE publication this week-end of the larger size Peace News coincides with the PPU's Trafalgar Square Peace Demonstration on Sunday, April 3 at 3 p.m. at which Emrys Hughes, MP, and Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union will voice the protests of thousands who in this country are opposing Britain's adherence to the Atlantic Pact.

Other speakers are Sybil Morrison, PPU Campaign Organiser; Dr. A. D. Belden; a conscientious objector; and a young mother.

sides assume that the other will be the aggressor.

"What is likely to happen if there are bombing raids and counter bombing raids?"

"Last Sunday in Glasgow there was a conference which was addressed by one of our most prominent atomic scientists, Professor M. L. Oliphant, chief of Birmingham University atomic research plant and a world-famous scientist. He said:

'If an atomic bomb were dropped on the City of Glasgow it would kill 50,000 people, seriously injure another 100,000 and completely destroy three square miles of the city area.'

"What protection will the RAF give against that?"

FACTS ABOUT WAR

"The fact is that rocket warfare has developed to such a tremendous extent—and the Minister of Defence probably knows this—that in the next war we shall not have in the first two or three months a kind of Battle of Britain fought at all; the probability is that we shall have what happened in the last stages of the war, the V.11; there will be rocket bombs; there may be atomic bombs."

"It must be remembered that the Russians are no longer as ignorant and inexperienced as they were in the first stages, or for that matter the last stages, of the war. They, too, have taken into their hands and Services German atomic scientists and German rocket experts who have been giving the Russians the benefit of their experience. I saw recently in the Daily Telegraph an article pointing out that the Russian Air Force is now incomparably stronger than it was in the war."

"I suggest to the House that these are the realities we have to face. We ought to make up our minds now that we have to think in terms of realities and that if we are to have security for the people of this country we must have an international agreement to stop this chaos and devilry before it breaks out."

END THREAT OF WAR

"With these realities before us, I suggest that the House is wasting its time talking in terms of strategy of the next war and that the Cabinet should be told it is their business to try to end all this in the field of diplomacy. They should be told that there is no security in providing hundreds of millions of pounds for the Forces. It is a crime for the Government at this time to be spending £1,150 million on our Armed Forces."

"The time has come when we should face the facts and solve our problems in another way."

This speech by Emrys Hughes is one of the many protests made in Parliament against war preparations to go unreported in the National Press. Place a regular order with your newsagent for Peace News and be informed concerning the cause for peace.



EMRYS HUGHES

From "The City of Brotherly Love"

TRUMAN GETS 'NO TAX' LETTER

BECAUSE they believe that present military spending by the U.S. Government is leading towards another war, eleven persons living in or near Philadelphia have written the following letter to President Truman telling him that they have refused to pay part of their 1948 federal income tax:

To the President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

March 8, 1949.

Dear Mr. President:

We are not paying a portion of our Federal Income Tax for 1948 because of our opposition to the emphasis placed by Federal expenditures upon PREPARATION FOR WAR.

War is the greatest enemy of mankind today, yet we spend millions for armaments, conscription and military alliances—a policy which can lead only to war. In a world filled with fear and suffering, we want our dollars to fight for the eradication of disease, not to invent new and more devastating bacteriological weapons.

We utterly oppose all forms of totalitarianism; at the same time we realize that another war would destroy the remaining democracies, including our own. We would

oppose totalitarianism with trust, goodwill, helpfulness and a sense of kinship with all mankind. We firmly believe that these means peace can be achieved.

We call upon our people to turn back from the slide of militarism while there is yet time. Let us feed the hungry, promote economic rehabilitation, and allay the fears of the world by leading the way to disarmament.

Therefore Mr. President, we are contributing the unpaid portions of our taxes to private agencies which promote these ends. We urge you to help America become a pioneer for peace, that we may know the will of God which is that all men should love one another, and act accordingly.

With deep concern,
Emma Cadbury Burton, Lindley James Burton, Margaret E. Dungan, Caleb Foote, Hope Stephens Foote, Emily C. P. Longstreth, Walter C. Longstreth, Caroline Phillips, Lydia H. Phillips, Grace E. Rhoads, Jr.

In a statement issued from the office of Attorney Walter Longstreth, who is himself one of the tax refusers, Margaret E. Dungan, a teacher, says:

"To every annual Income Tax Return beginning with 1944 I have attached a statement that, for religious and moral

reasons, I cannot voluntarily pay taxes levied for military use, and have always, except once, added that I would gladly pay an equal amount if I were assured that the sum would be used for the constructive works of peace."

"The amounts of the taxes that I refused to pay for 1940 and 1941 were seized, with interest, about a year later, from my bank account. Since then, although I have received many notices of unpaid taxes, and several statements of the receipt by the Deputy Collector of a warrant for distraint, no seizure has been made."

"From the beginning of my consideration of refusal to pay taxes levied for military ends, I have had interviews and correspondence with the Collectors, in which I have made clear that I believe that war is wrong, and that therefore I cannot honourably contribute voluntarily to it. In letters to the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, and a Congressman, I have asked that a Bill be introduced in Congress providing for exemption from the payment of military taxes by conscientious objectors to war, with the requirement that they pay an equal sum for civil uses, an exemption that would be a counterpart of the exemption in the Selective Service Act of 1940 of conscientious objectors to war from performing military service, with the provision that they do civilian work of national importance."

PEACE NEWS

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Scientists at odds

A PROPOSAL by two former employees at the Oak Ridge atomic bomb station, Drs. C. Daniel and A. M. Squires, that scientist should refuse to participate in weapons research and development, has provoked an unusually stimulating symposium in the American Bulletin of Atomic Scientists. The reactions of seven distinguished men of science to this proposal are summarised in the current Atomic Scientists' News (Vol. II, No. 5).

Only one supports it unreservedly: Dr. N. Wiener, of Massachusetts, who has already taken the course proposed. The others are curiously backward. Dr. H. C. Urey and A. P. Lerner, for example, maintain that "the real responsibility of the scientist, as of every one else, is to participate in political action for the organisation of world government to prevent war"—without, however, giving the slightest indication of what political action, other than the very one they are rejecting, might produce this desirable result.

Dr. M. Von Laue states, correctly we think, that "this is part of a wider problem and one that confronts all citizens. Should one be prepared to bear arms for one's country?"—but leaves his question unanswered. Similarly, Dr. E. Ashby, having pointed out, again correctly, that a country which unilaterally refused to wage war would be faced with a choice, "between a compromise involving some sacrifice of principle . . . and complete submission with a policy of non-violence," goes on to describe this as "an exceedingly difficult (sic) moral problem whose solution lies beyond the competence of scientific methods," thereby excusing himself from reaching any decision.

None of these scientists really meet the arguments of Drs. Daniel and Squires, who do not pretend to be advancing a scientific thesis, but appeal to their colleagues primarily as fellow-citizens influentially placed. "The accumulation of stockpiles of more and more horrible weapons," they submit, "leads to a continually increasing tension and the fear of attack leads to a temptation to gain a military advantage by striking the first blow." This vicious circle must be broken; and, since "Russian scientists have no freedom of action" (The Soviet Literary Gazette has since described as "monstrous" Prof. Kedrov's suggestion of international solidarity among scientists), it is incumbent upon western scientists to take the initiative—"to face up to the responsibility that goes with freedom."

Whether the action they propose would, in fact, prevent war, may be questionable (though if not, what would?); but it is quite irrelevant to observe, as Dr. Lerner does, that "any assumption of certainty in this field is unscientific and dangerous," since no such assumption has been made. And when he proceeds to assert portentously, "This attempt at 'playing God' is the hall-mark of totalitarianism with its justification of the worst of means in order to arrive at some ultimate supposedly good end," he just throws away his case.

For if the hall-mark of totalitarianism is its justification of the worst means to arrive at an end, then the hall-mark of anti-totalitarianism is a refusal to accept that justification: which is precisely what Drs. Daniel and Squires realise. When scientists (or others) are prepared to acquiesce in any activity, however inhuman, commissioned by their governments, then it is farewell freedom. So far from it being true, as Dr. Lerner presumes, that "a ban by scientists upon all weapon research would only be justified if it was certain that war is the greatest of evils to be avoided at any cost," it is just when totalitarianism is acknowledged to be an evil as great or greater, that such a ban becomes an imperative duty.

All is grist....

ONE of the most remarkable personalities in Town Today is Father Zeno Saltini. The name "father" applies more aptly to him, perhaps, than to most Catholic priests: for he is the founder of an association I Piccoli Apostoli (The Little Apostles), which has provided a home—in many cases the first they have known—for children of every nationality, orphaned by the war in Italy.

When I met Father Zeno this week, he impressed me at once as the sort of forceful, warm-eyed man small children would look up to, first with awe, and later with growing affection. Both the awe and the affection would be justified. The son of a well-to-do landowner, Don Zeno used as a young man to work beside the peasants on his own estate. Having resolved to devote his life to the care of abandoned children, he spared no pains to equip himself for the job: not only becoming a lawyer, then a priest, but spending seven months in gaol, in order to discover for himself how the outcasts of society were treated, and what had made them what they were.

He opened his first home at San Giacomo in 1931. Not till ten years later did he find his first full-time collaborator, an eighteen-year-old girl student. By then the war was raging. For many months after Mussolini's fall, he was forced to leave his seventy charges and live as a refugee and beggar himself. When he returned, with the blessing of the Pope, their number had already doubled. Desperate for accommodation, the Little Apostles "squatted" in an abandoned concentration camp, Fossoli. Here sprang up the first City of Fraternal Law—Nomadelpia.

WITHIN two years the evil structure has been converted into a children's city. Where prisoners were beaten and murdered, boys and girls are learning lessons and crafts, including the most important craft of all, that of free co-operation and self-government. "It is the main victory of Nomadelpia," Father Zeno says, that few ever wish to leave; most, as they grow up, prefer to become "fathers" and "mothers"—he dislikes the word "foster-parent"—to the newcomers.

In time the city hopes to be self-

supporting; and already plans are under way for the construction of a new one, on the Riviera coast. Meanwhile, however, the struggle goes on to find the wherewithal to feed, clothe, educate, a family of over a thousand. Father Zeno is here in England to seek fresh helpers: men and women willing to give up everything and join The Little Apostles; people just willing to send material aid. Both are needed. Those who are interested in this truly Christian effort to repair some of the most heartrending ravages of the War, can find out more from his delegate in London: Don Walter, 36 Bernard Street, W.C.1.

"WORLD Citizen" Garry Davis has now replied to the questionnaire submitted to him by the Confederation Generale Pacifiste (Cf. "All is Grist," Feb. 18).

On his position with regard to national, colonial and civil wars, Garry Davis told his interviewers:

"I will not participate again, in any way whatsoever, in a war between nations or groups of nations: in the first place, because the means employed are too destructive; and then, still more, because I would be morally unable to do so. The causes of these wars, as of colonial wars, are inherent in the disunion and anarchy of the world. I cannot join issue with either one side or the other, because I do not wish to favour anyone."

On conscientious objection:

"I have not studied conscientious objection sufficiently in all its forms to speak with certainty. I repeat, that I am against all war, and to that extent a conscientious objector also. I have the impression that the efforts of objectors have been lacking in direction or co-ordination, whence their ineffectiveness hitherto. But I don't see how we can live without a stable order, and so without a law that everyone must observe. However, there is occasion to band ourselves together against war, even if the means we employ are different."

Asked about his aims, capitalism, Communism and an economic and social revolution, Garry Davis averred that the new democratic world order which the establishment of world citizenship would represent, meant the end of capitalism and Communism.

I REMEMBER Prof. A. E. Housman as a grey, retiring, captious old gentleman, reputed to be the dul-

foxes." If, in the past, such prohibitions have been issued locally, by individuals, I should say that they practically ceased with the beginning of the late war and have not been resumed.

No fair-minded person pretends that in many, though not in all, districts where foxes are hunted, people interested in hunting have not tried to discourage the destruction of foxes by shooting and trapping—methods which, incidentally, are usually more cruel, when employed by persons whose sole aim has been the protection of their property. In this policy of discouragement compensation for damage has played a part, as incidentally it would have to do under any scheme

LETTERS

aiming at the control of animals by humane methods. Even if you have only a very few foxes or deer, there will still be cases where considerable damage will be done to the property or individuals.

In reply to your other correspondent, circumstances have allowed me to gain too wide an experience of wild animals and of country life to be susceptible to the propaganda of either the hunting, or the anti-hunting, fraternity.

I am well aware that the humanitarian societies do not advocate or desire the adoption of inhumane methods of control. Where they go wrong is in supposing that under existing conditions the discussions and recommendations of a parliamentary committee have the slightest chance of getting public money voted for the salaries of an adequate staff of game wardens or of inducing persons who suffer damage from wild animals and no longer derive any advantage from their presence in the way of sport or custom, to refrain from

Pounds for Peace

WE have just issued our Annual Reports and Statement of Accounts together with an Appeal to all Peace Pledge Union signatories to make our work possible by sending one or more POUNDS FOR PEACE. If you are a signatory, but do not receive a copy of the April 1 Journal, or if you are a reader of Peace News, but not a signatory and would like a copy, please write at once to Headquarters. If you are a signatory do your best to respond to our Appeal. If you are not a signatory, will you send me a POUND FOR PEACE through the Headquarters Fund?

Contributions since March 14: £17 16s.
Total for 1949: £53 12s. 1d.
Budget 1949: £300.

MAUD ROWNTREE

Hon. Treasurer.

Donations to the fund should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

lest lecturer in Cambridge. Once I attended his lectures, to find out whether the reputation was deserved. It was not: but they were portentously dull all the same. So difficult was it to associate this figure with the author of "A Shropshire Lad," that rumour spoke of his poems, like Shakespeare's, having really been written by somebody else.

Now, in last Saturday's broadcast, Laurence Housman has revealed yet another A.E.H.—the composer of nonsense verses worthy to be ranked with those of Lear and Carroll. Many who listened to his recitation must have shared my wish, that Laurence Housman would edit a selection of these verses; also, that he would write a full-length biography of his brother and thereby throw some light on one of the most enigmatic of all our great poets.

WAR is a form of insanity bred in the minds of insane men. . . . We must apply wealth and science, intelligence and reason, courage and moral leadership in our effort to stamp it out. We must have a strong Army, Navy and Air Force."

—The Mayor of Baltimore, quoted in the U.S. Congressional Record.

The Miller

supplementing the humane methods of the game wardens by others of their own, which are anything but humane.

The question of whether hunting is good for the morals of human beings is distinct from that of its effect on the feelings of animals. People who really put the better first need to be on their guard lest they sacrifice the animals to their desire to improve the morals of their fellow humans!

BEDFORD

Crowtholt,
Woburn, Bucks.

Defeating P.A.Y.E.

AS one who has since last August conscientiously refused to pay Income Tax for war purposes, I would like to inform PN readers and pacifists everywhere, that, until the Government can give us an assurance (which I contend we have every right to have), that no part of tax is going to support war and the forces of destruction, the only way to defeat PAYE is to refuse to co-operate with it; by only earning a sum of money which precludes the payment of Income Tax. Let no-one be under any misunderstanding about what this means if carried out. It means personal sacrifice, a wholehearted willingness to suffer deprivation in many ways, some of which are very unpleasant and embarrassing.

I have refused all jobs offered to me by the local Labour Bureau, because they oblige me to pay tax under present circumstances, and am living off a "pittance" which affords only an existence.

Yet withal, I have the inner satisfaction of Conscience, knowing that whilst so deprived, I am in no ways helping to hasten World War III.

SIDNEY COOK

45 Parliament Street,
Dukinfield, Cheshire.

Hunting or shooting

THE Duke of Bedford's letter on the respective merits of hunting and shooting is very instructive. It deserves study on the part of animal lovers, who are apt to indulge their emotions where animals are concerned but shrink from the mental toil of investigating conditions. The distinction drawn between ordinary and humane shooting is important: the humane pistol-shot takes effect instantly.

The claim that hunting has certain advantages over ordinary shooting also deserves attention, as do the conditions mentioned as necessary if the abolition of hunting is to be a real gain. Our friend would, of course, agree with us in applauding W. S. Gilbert's words quoted by Herbert Pearson in his biography "Gilbert and Sullivan." "Deer stalking would be a very fine sport if only the deer had guns." Again when someone claimed that the fox enjoyed his little run with the hounds Gilbert broke in: "I should like to hear the fox on that point. The time will no doubt come when the 'sport' of the present day will be regarded very much as we regard the Spanish bull-fight, or the bear-baiting of our ancestors."

And yet again: "I have a constitutional objection to taking life in any form . . . the mechanism of life is so wonderful that I shrink from stopping its action. To tread on a black-beetle would be to me like crushing a watch of complex and exquisite workmanship."

MARJORY C. BROWN

19, Wordsworth Avenue,
Boscombe, Bournemouth.

Compensation necessary

WHILE I cannot speak from personal experience of the practice of landowners in Walthamstow, may I say in reply to Mr. Clarke's question that in districts known to me landowners have not "invariably forbidden tenant farmers to shoot

HAS DEATH

(IN A RAGE)

Been invited by the Commissioners of Common Sewers to take up his abode in Lambeth? or, from what other villainous cause proceeds the frightful Mortality by which we are surrounded?

In this Pest-House of the Metropolis, and disfigure to the Nation, the main thoroughfares are still without Common Sewers, although the Inhabitants have paid exorbitant Rates from time immemorial!!!

"O Heaven! that such companies thou'ldst unfold
And put in every honest hand, a whip,
To lash the rascals naked through the world."

Unless something be speedily done, to allay the growing discontent of the people, retributive justice in her salutary vengeance will commence her operations with the *Lamp-Iron* and the *Halter*.

SALUS POPULI.

Lambeth, August, 1832.

THIS poster was one of the reactions to the cholera epidemic which raged on and off, through most of the first half of the 19th century in London.

Today cholera is almost unknown, expectation of life has gone up, infant mortality has gone down.

Times have changed and so, it seems, has Salus Populi. For although those who, in 1832, saw fit to threaten the Lambeth Vestrymen with the lamp-iron and the halter, would today be threatened with proceedings under the Control of Advertisement Regulations, I doubt whether this would deter them from airing their views.

Not that the present holders of office merit such dire threats as hung over their predecessors; simply that, in those days, local government was something that people cared about, today a lot of them don't even know which borough they live in, only a few know the names of the local Councillors, and fewer still have met them.

Perhaps this doesn't matter. After all, why should I take an interest in the drains? A hundred years ago the management of the drains was an important personal issue for every inhabitant of an urban area. Today they needn't worry their heads. Millions of gallons of sewage are taken away each day by the local Councils and it probably wouldn't matter much if this public service were absorbed by a central authority.

Vital to liberty

Yet one feels that democratic local government is something so vital to the liberties which are undoubtedly possessed by the people of this country, and the timon to us all. If a Community means anything at all cannot be explained away or consciously born at all. Nothing in the six years experience of Frating can do other than

Local government was originally a parish pump affair. Representatives were, more often than not, on christian name terms with those who had put them in office. There was no need for them to take a Gallum poll or use a Public Relations Officer; they knew public opinion; they got their instructions in no uncertain terms in the local church, the pub or the working-men's club. Such staff as they employed they knew also. It was all one—not very efficient—machine, and each part of it shared the responsibility.

But the modern borough council is much more efficient and much more impersonal. Councillors can only know a tiny proportion of those they represent (in one London borough, for example, each Councillor represents on an average nearly 3,000 electors and nearly 4,000 population); they have to control a vast number of technical and public services—libraries, parks, roads, street lighting, sewage, food and sanitary inspection, housing, registration of births to mention only a few; they spend hundreds of thousands of pounds each year, and collect much more than that, on behalf of the County Councils, from more or less unwilling ratepayers who rarely stop to consider whether they're getting good value for their money.

Committee work

To get through their work, Councils have to set up large numbers of committees: probably a dozen or more. Many of these have sub-committees. It is in the committees—usually banned (and for quite good reasons) to public and Press that most of the talking is done. Each committee is faced with a fat printed agenda each month; it contains recommendations from other committees, subjects to be discussed, lengthy technical notes from the paid officers. Far into the night several nights a week, they talk.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROBLEMS

By Alan Beynon

THE FIRST OF TWO ARTICLES ON A SUBJECT OF VITAL CONCERN TO DEMOCRATS. THE RE-VITALISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IS WIDELY CONSIDERED THE ANSWER TO THE TOTALITARIAN TENDENCY OF BUREAUCRACY AND CENTRALISATION. COMMUNISTS GENERALLY FAVOUR A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DECENTRALISATION AND MANY ARE ACTIVE MEMBERS

OF THEIR BOROUGH AND COUNTY COUNCILS. ALAN BEYNON HIMSELF IS EMPLOYED AS PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER BY ONE OF THE LONDON BOROUGH COUNCILS.

People often get cynical about it; they could have done just as well without all this talk and paper work, they're the experts and the only amateurs with little or no knowledge. They're puzzled. People become councillors? Only if they have any real power; they get no financial reward; only a chance to enjoy committee meetings.

ives for service

Most people know dimly that all this while, and although nothing would stop them from offering themselves for the fight to the last ditch to local control over local affairs, the practicality of the members of Councils come from the political. Some quite honestly, and I think they use the Town Hall as a training ground for higher office—in the County Parliament or perhaps the party. Others, and they are many, have no but a passionate concern to make rough a better place to live in than found about, and a few, I suppose, are or less unworthy motives such

as personal aggrandisement or a desire on the part of a business man to keep in touch with the people who matter.

The party system in local government has its pros and cons. It is a means of introducing the wider experience in public affairs of those who make up the party machine; it lends some direction and integration to the work of its representatives in the Council Chambers, and it assures an interest in the work of the Council at least among the rank and file members of the local party.

On the other hand, "party points" sometimes tend to overshadow deeper issues, vote-catching manoeuvres may not always be in the best interests of the public, and perhaps worst of all, there is a tendency for even detailed council affairs to be settled at the policy meeting of the majority party, so that the work of the minority, especially if they are a small minority, becomes a sinecure. A united front is presented by the majority party at Council meetings, and the public have no means of telling on what grounds and by what arguments their decisions were reached.

There are about 200,000 men and women "officers" employed by local authorities throughout England and Wales, plus a large army of builders, sewer-men, sweepers, labourers and other manual workers. By tradition, their job is secure, and their conditions of employment are reasonable. They are certainly not highly paid (though some chief officers command very substantial salaries) and on the whole are very hardworking. But today security does not count for as much as it did, and salaries in industry have risen far more than they have in local government. New recruits therefore are "patchy" in quality; there is a tendency for more to be employed to do the same amount of work, and a consequent danger that the cost of local government will increase and efficiency fall. The increasing insistence on the possession of qualifications might go far to check this, however.

This is the setting in which, next week, I hope to consider the future. There have been some promising new developments; how far will they go towards making responsible citizenship a reality?

Community Reflections

COMMUNITY has of necessity to be a thing which corresponds to the aspirations of the common man. One thing we hold in common is the aspiration to live good life. The art of living a Community to which the attributes needed are common to us all. If a Community means anything at all cannot be explained away or consciously born at all. Nothing in the six years experience of Frating can do other than

DURING the past ten years there have been numerous experiments by groups of people aimed at providing a pattern for a new social order based on life on the land. Farms have been purchased and much effort and hardship endured in the process of building up a Community. Many of these experiments have failed, but one which has proved singularly successful and has withstood the test of time is Frating Hall.

At Frating the building team have been busy keeping pace with the demands for cottages made by new families; for the doors of Frating are open to anyone willing to give his or her services to the farm, regardless of their religious beliefs or professions.

In this article, a founder-member of the Community discusses some of the reasons for its survival.

convictions. We had to pay the price of inexperience and disintegration. And that is how Communities begin and in no other way.

The man or woman who knows all the answers, who is always right, is a menace in national society and death in a Community. Those who know just what the world needs and sit and hatch and brood out plans for a world government and international concord; who behave like the master mind creating the master plan, are so often silly little failures who fail in everything they touch. The giant intellect whose personal life is too often a denial of brotherhood, and frequently much worse, may have the right answer, but seldom the right contribution.

The prophet, the poet, the seer, the truly great, are inspired by the spirit which bloweth where it listeth, but they are nourished by the solid goodness of the men who labour simply and humbly and with loving care at whatever the need of man dictates. The artist so often tends to be the perverse neurotic, unless his work is the aspiration of the common man in artistic form. In politics we shudder at the master man. In art we ought to shudder at the notion of the artist elevated out of existence. In a Community we have to aim at every man expressing a political creed, and every man being some kind of an artist.

The stuff of which a Community is made comes in unheralded and unsung. The things which go to make up a Community are those things which come unawares and unbidden. The moment a Community is born, it is born, and like all birth, it is a wonder, and like all birth, it is a daily, common experience.

People have a "sphere!" The work we can realise that it is "but the spirit," which kindles one corner can be so far

from kissing the joy as it flies, it never knows it exists. The urge to be clever makes people stupid. The drive away from the ordinary only too often creates deformity.

Frating Community has survived six years because its men and women were too preoccupied in having infants and making homes to be bothered about being a special

race with a special destiny. The future of the Community depends upon the way we respond to the needs of the children. Such are the slender threads upon which the life of a Community hangs. The way we govern ourselves, and the various principles by which we try to run the place, are as nothing unless the reader realises something of the spirit which animates the place.

We are no longer in a kind of bondage to the idea that in order to be successful a Community must offer a kind of pattern upon which the world must be shaped. The world is too much with us and will be saved when people get away from it, and not before. If the world continues to harass its people, deny its faith and common humanity, produce a world war every twenty years and drive its best men to despair, then, the sooner it comes to an end the better, and we should assist at its demise. "And nothing will send it down but the young shoots."

Those of us who believe with all the passion of which we are capable, that the pattern of life is outworn, and the inspiration dull, and that the new shoots have to be nurtured in some kind of community enterprise, try humbly to abide by what is involved in the task. If we can break down the cash nexus (and I believe we can) that is something. If we can come to regard children as bits of new life and not little morsels for us to chew with our own blasphemous ideas, if we can learn to reverence new life wherever it may manifest itself, and if at the same time we keep a growing good food, singing songs, dramatizing life in its great mystery, and with full hearts worship God together, we are at least setting forth alternatives of behaviour for him who runs to follow. And if our work we can realise that it is "but the spirit," which kindles one corner can be so far

Conscription without referendum

—New Zealand's "TUC" tells Premier

From our N.Z. Correspondent

THE New Zealand Federation of Labour, to which practically every trade union in NZ is affiliated, has declared that peace-time conscription should not be introduced without a referendum.

Although not as strong as the outright opposition to conscription voiced by many unions, the decision should cause further hesitation on the part of Prime Minister Peter Fraser, who seems to have an obsession in favour of conscription.

Before leaving for his recent visit to England, when an adverse decision by the Trade Union Movement seemed to be likely, he begged the movement to postpone any decision until he returned. The strength of the Trade Union opposition has restrained him so far, and the General Election looming up for October or November with the Labour Government's hold at least a little shaky (they are kept in power by the four Maori members), may cause further marking-time.

The latest union to announce opposition to conscription is the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, which includes the main body of railwaymen, although Railway "officers" and "tradesmen" are in separate organisations.

From Christchurch, Lincoln Efford writes to the Headquarters of the War Resisters' International:

"We have had several Sunday open-air meetings, not very largely supported by the public, but receiving fairly good publicity in the Press. Within the organisation there has been much discussion to try to find a basis on which Church people (and War Resisters) could work with the Communists and Fellow-travellers generally. The movement throughout New Zealand in this "peace campaign," as it is called in Christchurch, has behind it the Communists and those who support Russia and denounce the USA.

A proposal by one of the clergy that our platform should contain a plank denouncing conscription everywhere (e.g., Russia) as well as here was defeated, as the left-wingers held it was desirable in Russia.

From Government House to Road Gang

30 DAYS' FOR WRONG SEAT IN BUS

BAYARD RUSTIN, the American Negro singer and race relations secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, who was recently the guest of Prime Minister Nehru of India is now serving a thirty days' sentence on a Carolina road-gang.

Together with another Negro and two white men, Bayard Rustin was sentenced for refusal to move to a rear seat of a bus in the course of a journey of reconciliation, which took sixteen white and Negro young men through four Southern states as a test of adherence to a Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation on interstate transport.

Rustin has just returned from two months in India, where he went on the invitation of Mahatma Gandhi, son of the late Mohandas Gandhi. While there he was received by Prime Minister Nehru, and was a guest of C. Rajagopalachari at Government House in New Delhi.

In India he was described by Percy Wood, the Chicago Tribune syndicate's American correspondent in New Delhi as "receiving a warm welcome" as he "spoke publicly on racial intolerance in America."

The same correspondent added that knowledge of the American Negro's possible imprisonment which was widely commented on by the Indian Press, "will do much to increase American prestige among Indians already incensed over treatment of Indians by white South Africans."

Rustin, advised soon after he landed that the North Carolina Supreme Court had refused his appeal, "America cannot afford to lose the struggle for freedom."

Ex-servicemen's standpoints

By SAM WALSH



THE ex-servicemen claim to be the only ones on the beach. But he can't claim in many instances he is by an ideal which was characteristic of other conscripts. And he is disillusioned accordingly. The aspiration the greater conscripting from failure. Actual conscientiously pursued of war he is to be placed in a category which contains conscientious objectors to simultaneous effort and in a degree both these conscripts can be compared in the measure of their disillusion.

DISILLUSION

But in this last respect, to war who failed to prevent the sustenance of a feeling that to humanity was not squandered small way his refusal of office preserved not only integrity but also it sustained his ideal in practice. On the other ex-Servicemen suffers the severest of an utter frustration. Even not feel the bitter wrong of and perverted, he cannot fail to, from a glance at the news which promised that his efforts would be world so well, of the complete nature of the "final" result.

Not the only pebble on the high and dry as the tide of hope in the mass of his neighbours by and questioning individual. The paradox demonstrated in experience, the ex-Servicemen that apt to be submerged in the of alternating hope and despair, fact, turn aside and enter a sturdier fellowship. Retaining his has but to renounce the demonstrable methods of their attainment he followed so gallantly. The ex-S will thus find himself in inspiring, in the company of equally com men who happened on the alternative a little earlier than himself, that

But from his very upbringing the influence of which can be seen dramatic moment—the ex-Servicemen very likely feel that he can only turn one organisation to another. Feel necessity for organised effort and to in company he will hesitate to stand

COMRADESHIP

That is one good reason why it is operative that the PPU continues in sustained by its tried and trusted (C

What does PPU stand for?

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

It is on the basis of this Pledge that the fellowship of the Peace Pledge Union is built.

The PPU stands for the rejection of war. It believes that negotiation is the only constructive way of solving any disputes or reconciling any differences and that non-violent resistance is the only way in which tyranny, cruelty, and aggression can be effectively met.

If you decide that you can in conscience no longer support the method of war, we hope that you will sign the Pledge and give us the encouragement of your help. There is no other condition of membership and no fixed subscription though we rely on our members to provide the financial support necessary for our work.

Members are invited to join the nearest local group and take part in their activities. The address of the local group secretary will be sent to each new signatory on receipt of the pledge card.

If you would like to have further information about the PPU or to discuss your particular problems, please write to the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

WORLD NEWS IN BRIEF

PROF. EINSTEIN, Pearl Buck, Victor Reuther and fifteen other prominent names are signatories to "New Evidence of the Militarisation of America," published in the U.S. by the National Council Against Conscription.

Three youths, who were recently before a North London Court on charges of stealing, told the magistrate that they had difficulty in obtaining work because they were soon to be called up for military training. The probation officer confirmed this and the magistrate expressed his sympathy with the boys. Another N. London boy recently committed suicide because he was depressed by his impending call-up.

The Norfolk Education Committee has given permission to the Coal Board's Director of Recruitment to give talks and film shows in the schools. A similar request some months earlier by the Air Force was refused.

A conference against racial discrimination is being held in London.

"In a search for freedom" were read in the New York Times as wanting to the U.S. to work and become citizens. One of them, Lieut. Barsoff, said, "I do anything they want me to do if USA provided I am not forced to do so. I would defend the country provided not forced to do so."

The Attorney-General answered "to a question by Sir Waldron Smith the Commons asking if he would instigate legal proceedings under the Incitement to Disaffection Act against British Communists who "have announced their intention to sabotage defence measures to sell Britain to Russia."

A young Sergeant writes LET BOYS KNOW ABOUT PACIFISM

I HAVE just read in Peace News, a letter deploring the ignorance of young conscripts about the possibilities of conscientious objection. As a victim of such ignorance who is now paying for it—as you may see from my present address—I should like to endorse the conclusions reached in the above-mentioned letter (from Mr. J. Marsh), and to point out one further reason for propaganda in this field.

I mean the fact that at the age of eighteen, most boys, myself included, are too young, and their ideas too fluid and immature for such a decision as conscientious objection, unless its importance be brought home to them as often as possible.

I wish to know whether there is any procedure for conscientious objection after one has enlisted for National Service.

I should like to conclude by expressing my full sympathy with the philosophy and ethic of non-violence and "ahimsa," and my hope of spreading this gospel as much as possible, both before and after demob. (which, in my case, occurs in June, I am glad to say).
Sgt. B. J.

(Address withheld by Editor)

If a man did not register as a Conscientious Objector before being called up, but later developed a conscientious objection to service, he may, by a special concession, if sentenced either to imprisonment or detention for three months or more, following a Court-Martial, apply to have his case considered by a body called the Advisory Tribunal. This is in fact the Appellate Tribunal for COs sitting merely to advise the Service authorities.

The Advisory Tribunal can, if satisfied that a man's conscientious objection is genuine, recommend him for discharge from the Forces or for transfer to non-combatant duties and, though it cannot register him as a CO, it can recommend him for particular civil work.

Further information can be obtained from the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1., publishers of "Registering as a CO," (6d), "Court-Martial Guide," (3d), "Civil and Military Prison Routine," (6d), and other informative literature.

weary) membership determined to preserve its ranks for such recruits to enter and swell. However secure we may feel in our own certainty of conviction, ready to make our stand alone if need be, we must combine to offer the warmest fellowship to those most likely to feel left out in the cold when their former comrades frown upon the spectacle of an ex-Serviceman daring to think for himself.

Thus in the friendliest and most helpful way can we veteran pacifists assure the newcomer that he is not the only pebble on the beach, stranded in the sea of troubles which follow in the wake of war.

NEW PEACE POSTER

"Conscription permits a gamble with human lives in the game of power politics," is the message printed on the latest poster to be issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Friends' Meeting House, Clifford Street, York. Price 4d. post free.

LIBERTY CLUBS



THE LIBERAL SOCIALIST PARTY is a true party of the people.

Start a **LIBERTY CLUB** in your town or village. Invite your friends—not for argument and contention, but for fellowship and understanding.

Question number one:—

How can we restore Socialism to its true function, viz., "The organisation of the State for the Welfare of the individual?"

Don't bother about committees that keep minutes and waste hours. Just elect a **PILOT**. His (or Her) duty:—To steer the course and keep in touch with Headquarters.

Write to Don Alwyn, Box 30, Peace News, Ltd., 3, Blackstock-road,

"We have no time for war"

TOGETHER with a number of Pacifists and Feminists I had the chance to meet several of the Russian women visiting England, at the invitation of International Women's Day. What struck me most during the hour I spent with them, was their complete and whole-hearted absorption in the creative side of life.

They would not speak for their government, it is true, but they were obviously intent on new developments in education, equal, of course, for girl and boy, and the particular problems of women in respect of industrial work.

The most significant moment of our translated conversation was when, in answer to a question on foreign relations from one of the small group present, the Russian speaker answered (and it was translated like lightning) "We have no time for war." I am sure that this answer was the spontaneous reaction of women who regard the building-up of their country's civilisation as the vital necessity; they "have no time" for planning the destruction of others who do not think as they.

I wish I had had more time to question them on specifically pacifist problems, but, odd as it may seem to those who regard Russia as a regimented country, our foreign friends have apparently no sense of time! They were as late for their appointment on this occasion, as for most others during their short stay in England.

But not from lack of goodwill! These women were serious and sincere, and wanted to be friends with us—there is no quicker way to peace than through such contacts.

PHYLLIS VALLANCE

EAST-WEST RELATIONS DISCUSSED

MEMBERS of the National Peace Council's Commission on East-West Relations (which includes several members of the Peace Pledge Union) interviewed one of the six Russian women visitors, Madame Praskovia, Kuzmenko, a trade union official. They discussed privately some of the major issues on which the Commission is working.

Letters to the six Russian delegates may be addressed, c/o The Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee, Moscow, USSR.

WAR? WE SAY NO!

BRISTOL CAMPAIGN MEETING SUNDAY, APRIL 10, 3 p.m.

VICTORIA ROOMS

SPEAKERS
RHYS DAVIES, M.P.
STUART MORRIS

CHAIRMAN
LAURENCE HOUSMAN

ORGANISED BY BRISTOL CENTRAL GROUP
in hope of support by local pacifists

DROP IN SOCIALIST OBJECTORS

THE Central Board for Conscientious Objectors have published the following analysis of the basis of objection of 1948's 471 conscientious objectors.

JANUARY - DECEMBER, 1948

Category	No.	% of the whole
Religious.		
Brethren ...	40	8
Friends ...	39	8
Christadelphians ...	34	7
Jehovah's Witnesses ...	34	7
Church of England ...	18	4
Methodists ...	14	3
Baptists ...	10	2
Seventh Day Adventists ...	10	2
Congregationalists ...	8	2
Pentecostals ...	5	1
Jews ...	3	0.6
Assemblies of God ...	2	0.4
Elim Four Square Gospel ...	2	0.4
Christian Scientists ...	1	0.2
Presbyterians ...	1	0.2
Roman Catholics ...	1	0.2
Spiritualists ...	1	0.2
Other Denominations (various) ...	78	18
General.		
Humanitarian and Moral ...	28	6
Ethical ...	4	0.8
Rational ...	1	0.2
Unclassified (neither religious nor political) ...	119	25
Political.		
Socialist ...	4	0.8
Others ...	14	3
Total ...	471	100%

This comment on the figures is made in the March issue of The Objector:

"It is interesting to compare the 1948 percentages of religious general and political objectors with those in World War I. Although the statistics given by Graham are not strictly comparable with the ones for 1948, it is possible to state that of the 6,261 men arrested in World War I, about 4 per cent. were members or attenders at Meetings of the Society of Friends, while about 19 per cent. were Socialist objectors. It is a sad commentary on the development of Socialism that the proportion of such objectors has now shrunk to rather less than 1 per cent."

T.U. YOUTH OPPOSE CONSCRIPTION

From a Correspondent

BY a two-thirds majority the Birmingham Trades' Council Youth Advisory Committee last week passed a motion opposing conscription as being against the interests of the Labour Movement.

The conscription issue was first discussed in the form of a debate at the end of a meeting which heard a report on the YAC's work and a discussion on the ways of implementing the Committee's Youth

Pacifist Profiles

MORE even than most pacifists, Vera Brittain's life has been a continuous struggle. Born in Newcastle-under-Lyme, the only daughter of a well-to-do middle-class household, she had, from the first, to face stubborn family opposition, both to her ambition of becoming a writer, and to her determination to enter Somerville College, which she did as an exhibitioner in 1914.

Hardly had she embarked on her college career, however, before the call of patriotism led her to take up VAD nursing. It was this experience that first turned her thoughts to the great issues of war and peace. Sent to France in 1917, to nurse desperately wounded German prisoners, she discovered to her astonishment that these "Huns" and "Boches" resembled in all respects our own men. The reality of war was brought home to her even more intimately, when her first fiancé, her only brother and her two greatest friends were killed.

It was a very different young woman who returned to Oxford to resume her studies. She turned over from English to History, with the deliberate intention of exploring the causes of war, and its possible remedies; and as soon as she had gone down, joined the League of Nations Union. She continued writing and speaking for the LNU until the middle '30s, when it became plain to her, as to so many others, that the League was powerless to preserve peace.

It was then that she was invited to address an open-air rally organised by the Peace Pledge Union, with Dick Sheppard, George Lansbury, Laurence Housman and Donald Soper. This was her first contact with pacifists—but not her last. Constantly afterwards, at LNU meetings, she found herself heckled by PPU members, until finally she was forced to the conclusion that their arguments were stronger than her own! Late in 1936, she accepted Dick Sheppard's invitation to become a Sponsor, and thereafter became one of the most active PPU propagandists.

Vera Brittain had already won fame by her book, "Testament of Youth." From 1925-7, she had lived in the United States, and in succeeding years returned constantly for lecture-tours. She has also lectured in Holland, Scandinavia and Germany. Of her many books, including poetry and fiction, pacifists remember with particular gratitude, "England's Hour," "Seed of Chaos" and the anthology "Above All Nations." Throughout the war, her

weekly "Letter to Peace-Lovers" was a constant encouragement to those seeking means for resisting the tide of hatred and hysteria—as was her work on behalf of the



VERA BRITTAİN

campaigns against obliteration bombing and for European food relief.

Vera Brittain is married, and has a son and daughter. Known throughout the English-speaking world as a writer, feminist, socialist and pacifist, her recent acceptance of the invitation to become Chairman of the PPU, in succession to George M. L. Davies, Alex. Wood and George Lansbury, will be widely welcomed by British pacifists.

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Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

EASTBOURNE: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Wish Road; For Area Conference for East Sussex; Sandro Sarti of Italy and Hugh Faulkner; For.

Sunday, April 3

LONDON, W.C.2: 3 p.m. Trafalgar Square; Peace Demonstration; Emrys Hughes, M.P., Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, Rev. A. D. Belden, A. Conscientious Objector, A. Young Mother; PPU.

Monday, April 4

TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Open Air Meeting; Brian Anstey; PPU.

Mon.-Wed., April 4-6

READING: Leighton Park School; Conscientious Conference for boys aged 16-19; G. Colin Fawcett, Clifford H. Macquire, Hugh Maw and Eric S. Tucker. Primarily for Friends and those at Friends' Schools but enquiries from others welcomed. Applications to Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. FPC.

Tuesday, April 5

STOKE NEWINGTON: 7.30 p.m. 79 Lordship Park, N.16; WRI speaker: "Behind the Iron Curtain in Central Europe"; PPU.

Wednesday, April 6

BOURNEMOUTH: 7 p.m. St. Peter's small Hall; Campaign Meeting; Laurence Housman, Stuart Morris; PPU.

Thursday, April 7

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open Air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Friday, April 8

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; "Europe's Lost Children"; Michael Sorensen; Central London PPU.

Fri.-Sun., April 8-10

OXFORD: St. Hilda's College; Conference "The Psychological Requirements of One World"; Rev. Henry Carter, Dr. E. Graham Howe, G. C. T. Giles, Dr. Olaf Stapledon; NPC.

Sunday, April 10

BRISTOL: 3 p.m. Victoria Rooms; Campaign Meeting; Rhys Davies, M.P., Stuart Morris, Laurence Housman; PPU.

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MEETINGS

BOURNEMOUTH, WEDNESDAY, April 6. 7 p.m. St. Peter's Small Hall. Laurence Housman, Stuart Morris, Chairman, Rev. E. Pope.

CENTRAL LONDON Group 8. Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1 at 7.30 p.m., April 1. open meeting, 8. Michael Sorensen.

"Europe's Lost Children." 15 no meeting. 22 Theatre visit eve of AGM. 29 Group Policy meeting.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

FREE DISCUSSION Course in Fundamental Economics and Social Problems. Develop your powers of Speech and Thought. New class commencing Thursday, April 7, 7.30 p.m. in Christian Institute, 70 Bothwell Street, Glasgow. Write enrolling for ten weeks' free Course to Secretary Chas. McSwan, Henry George School of Social Science, 5 Grafton Square, Glasgow, C.1. Non-sectarian. Non-political.

ACCOMMODATION

SEASIDE HOLIDAY accommodation for Vegetarians and others welcomed. Vegetarians at Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

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QUIET COUPLE, pacifist, vegetarian, teetotal, urgently require unfurnished rooms in or near N.W. Box 40.

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LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

GIFT PARCELS of Coffee, Tea, Food & Clothing sent to your friends in Europe. Quick delivery. Apply: Frigate Ltd., 11 Greek Street, London, W.1.

NOTTINGHAM. FOR details of local PPU activities contact Secretary, 163 Porchester Rd., Nottingham.

WALKER PRINTING SERVICE, 175 Fleet Street, E.C.4, invites enquiries for quality printing—books, catalogues, pamphlets, magazines, colour and commercial. Estimates prove good printing costs no more than the mediocre.

MARRIAGE BUREAU. Suitable introductions arranged privately. Details free. Mary Blair (Room 59), 147 Holborn, E.C.1.

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PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in, to Peace News (STA 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook stationers) Finsbury Park, N.4. (one minute from station).

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MISCELLANEOUS

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lanebury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

Allies' 'last territorial claim'

sources to productive ends . . . India's enemy today is not without; it is within, and it can only be fought on the economic front. Large defence expenditure hinders, and does not aid, the battle on this front."

A model for the world

I DO not know much about India. I do not know whether the wisdom of the Eastern Economist will commend itself to India's rulers. But there is one thing I am sure of. If India and Pakistan could be reconciled as a result of a mutual reduction of expenditure on armaments, they would provide a model for the world. Experience has taught us that armament leads to war. The world needs to know that the converse holds true: that disarmament leads to peace.

But, of course, the conflict of Western democracy and Russian Communism runs deeper than that of India, and Pakistan. There is no rational basis for war between Hindu and Muslim. But Marxists believe there is a rational basis for war between the proletarian and the bourgeois powers. Their science of history is bogus, but the important matter is that they believe it. The leaders of Eastern Europe, and their acolytes in Communist movements elsewhere, regard the conflict as necessary, certain, inevitable.

World Truce plan

WHAT is the answer to this? The post has recently brought me through that most clear-sighted of political pacifist societies, the Labour Pacifist Fellowship, a new line in foreign policies. It is called "world truce" and it recommends that the West and East should "agree to differ," which means, I suppose, that they should recognise each other's "spheres of influence" and modify the cold war.

This notion bewilders me. If it is meant to be *Realpolitik*, it is no good. It is supping with the devil with a very short spoon. If it is meant to be a frankly idealist policy, it is even worse. "Peace," alas, is poor enough a word for your goal, but a "Truce" can inspire no-one.

The "World Truce" idea issues from a desire to express pacifism in terms of practical politics. I believe this desire is utterly forlorn. Pacifism is a doctrine of suffering and renunciation; it looks for no "results," it makes no claim to "work." It is an assertion of a moral principle for its own sake.

I wonder if my readers have seen or read the play "Antigone," by Anouilh? The rationale of pacifism is, I think, remarkably well expressed in the explanation that is given there of Antigone's conduct in performing the rites her religion requires in spite of the injury this does to herself and

to the general happiness of the country. This play may be seen at the New Theatre in London and is, I believe, to be broadcast soon.

Freedom and authority

WITHIN a few weeks of the relaxation of the newsprint controls, Britain's most widely read daily paper has been up in the courts, its editor gaoled and its owner fined.

So much for Fleet Street.

They said they wanted more paper to "report Parliament." When they got it, they realised that the free market had come into being again, and each newspaper had to fight for a bigger circulation than the others.

You don't find new readers in the gentlemen's clubs and cultivated homes; they have a paper already. You find new readers in the gutter. The Daily Mirror went too far in trying to attract the gutter public. Other papers—and especially Sunday papers, for this Sabbath-minded country has a special fondness for crime and sex on Sundays—have steered clear of the law; but the decline in taste since restrictions went off is marked.

Is not the lesson of this that authority may be better than freedom, when people do not know how to use their freedom? This applies to another department of life which has lately been discussed in Parliament—the censorship of plays.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Levy want the Lord Chamberlain's office abolished. But can anyone suppose that such a step would extend the freedom of dramatic utterance? Eliminate the royal authority, and you open the door to the pressure groups, the journalistic keepers of the national conscience, the nosey-parkers and the kill-joys.

Within limits

OF the recent adjustments to Germany's western frontiers, the Editor writes:

During the War, a detached observer could only be cynically amused by the efforts of politicians and Press-hirelings to prove that "unconditional surrender" was necessary to prevent any future Hitler from exploiting the tradition of an unbeaten German Army. It was only too obvious that no equivalent attempt was being made to prevent him exploiting the tradition of Allied perfidy—no attempt, for example, to keep to the Atlantic Charter, once it has served its purpose of propaganda.

The last few days have seen a furore over Herr Adenauer's speech at Berne, in which he is alleged to have said that only the German Army, not the German people, surrendered unconditionally. One cannot help suspecting that the real purpose of this furore is to divert us from yet another flagrant betrayal of the Atlantic Charter—the new western frontier adjustments. According to The Times (March 29), the German protest against this piece of petty victimisation "ignores the history of the past ten years." One can only reply that such an action, as stupid as it is immoral on the part of Powers which profess to be aiming at a United Western Europe, including Germany, ignores the history of the past thirty.

The Times goes on to assure us that this is our last territorial claim in Europe. From now onwards, "within the essential limits of security . . . Germany should be treated with fairness and understanding . . . The aim should be to avoid all unnecessary restrictions or petty precautions which merely offend the vanity of the German people." Petty precautions, presumably, other than those already imposed! I imagine this use of the word "vanity" for what in Englishmen would be labelled "patriotism," is intended to be a first illustration of the ingenious new conception of fairness and understanding—within limits.

BRETHREN CHURCH — OPPOSED TO PACT — WARNS U.S.A.

Militarists' power is increasing

FIRST opposition to the Atlantic Pact by a religious body in the USA has come from the Church of the Brethren. The Brethren Service Commission which met for its quarterly meeting last week issued the following statement:

"We are alarmed over these recent developments:

1. Increasing control of American foreign policy by the Army and Navy, acting through the President's Security Council.
2. Frequent by-passing and crippling of the United Nations by many nations including our own. The proposed Atlantic Pact is a recent example.
3. Increasing control of public thought through a military propaganda force of 2,000 men spending annually more than \$15,000,000 of public funds.
4. Increasing control over America's scientists through military domination of University research projects.

"Military power is war power. Parades of Nationalistic power produce fear, not good will.

"Spiritual power is peace power. Allegiance to all mankind is peace power. Deeds of good will to enemies are evidences of peace power.

"We call upon our own church people, and upon the people of America to awaken to the perils facing us, and to join with people around the world seeking God's direction through prayer.

"In this time of fear and uncertainty, we suggest that all people perform acts of love and mercy beyond what they think themselves capable of doing.

"We pledge ourselves to unrelenting effort against the forces of evil and for peace on earth, goodwill to men."

The Brethren Church has a three centuries old anti-war tradition and asks its young men to consider whether or not they should register for military service. Together with the Society of Friends, it exerts a strong influence for peace both inside and outside the U.S.

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, March 31, 1939

On that fateful Wednesday when Hitler marched into Czechoslovakia it was difficult to tell from the posters in London, whether the Nazi coup or the South African cricket match was the more important event. They were running neck and neck. The leading article in the Evening Standard that evening (Mar. 15) told us that "Czechoslovakia had ceased to exist, but the cold fact is that it could never hope to exist. It was a ramshackle State."

"A Ramshackle State" was the title of this particularly callous article.

"For long past," it continued, "the Evening Standard has predicted that such a State was bound sooner or later to crumble. . . . We must not delude ourselves into supposing that this ultimate act in a long-drawn-out drama in any way brings general war nearer Europe. . . . It gives us, in fact, a better chance of peace in the future. The collapse of Czechoslovakia is not the concern of the British people."

But somebody must have whispered something to the Editor of the Evening Standard, for two days later (Mar. 17) it spoke in these terms, once more in its leading article:

"Today, therefore, the chief call is for some public demonstration of Britain's will to build high the ramparts which guard our own home of freedom. . . . The first need of the moment is to give expression to that resolve. It can only be done by the announcement of the British Government of a plan for national conscription."

—The Press and the Crisis, by Reginald Reynolds.

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

"Peace is more inevitable than war because the common people in all lands want peace. . . . Comrades, keep on keeping on with the work of propaganda."

—George Lansbury.

BIRMINGHAM, one of England's most progressive cities, once had a strong pacifist contingent of members and groups; like many other pacifist groups, the war, frustration and apathy scattered the members and disintegrated the groups.

On Tuesday last week I met 35 members who gathered in the ILP Hall to discuss with me the future of the Birmingham PPU in relation to the campaign. There are 700 members in Birmingham, but the 35 who came were a host in themselves. Perhaps one or two came out of curiosity, some perhaps to heckle and dissent, but the heckling was good natured and the dissension constructive. Ten of them decided there and then to form a central group and met at the end to put their decision into practical form at once, and all agreed to have another members' meeting next month to follow up what promised to be a revival of the fighting, campaigning spirit in Birmingham.

Richard Lee was in the chair, old friends like Herbert Whatley and Humphrey Moore were there, and Connie Jones, faithful and indefatigable was cheering up the waverers and egging on the fighters. "Keep on keeping on" is her slogan as it has been the slogan of pioneers and revolutionaries through the ages.

AT SHEFFIELD

As I write this travelling back from Sheffield where I spoke with John Rankin, MP, to about 200 people in the Memorial Hall (a beautiful small semi-circular hall erected to the memory of the dead in World War I) I cannot help thinking not only of the splendid speech against the Atlantic pact made by John Rankin, who roused a critical North country audience to enthusiastic applause, but of the many other Socialists and pacifists who have "stumped" the country undaunted and undeterred by ridicule and bitter opposition. And so I come again to the simple words of George Lansbury, quoted in last week's Peace News.

It isn't very easy, especially when fatigue and depression grips at one's mind and body, but the time was never more opportune, for ordinary people all over the world are saying they do not want to go to war with each other. It is our business to bring in to our movement that great potential band of resisters and make them strong to oppose and break down the method of war for ever.

In London this week-end we start off, and shall keep on with open-air meetings. All is set for our Peace Demonstration in Trafalgar Square, where there will be a magnificent opportunity to send out the pacifist message to thousands who would not ordinarily hear it. In Birmingham and Sheffield, as well as in cities all over the country there are open-air pitches from which the citizens of those towns should always be able to hear the pacifist arguments. Comrades, let us, at all costs, "keep on keeping on with the work of propaganda."

For forthcoming meetings see page 5.

WORDS ARE DEEDS

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